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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the history of the founding of colleges in Ohio during the nineteenth century, focusing on a critical reexamination of the thesis of Donald Tewksbury (1932), which emphasizes the role of religious denominations in the founding and persistence of private institutions of higher education. It argues that colleges and universities, as they emerged during this period, should be viewed as broad-based local enterprises that were deeply rooted in the economic and cultural life of the local community. Local boosterism is thought to have been a more significant factor in the survival of independent colleges than the religious zeal of the denominations. Discussion of the national and historical context precedes a review of private college development in Ohio, noting the easy requirements for chartering a college under the Northwest Ordinance and the State Constitution of 1802. Examples are then provided showing the important role of local boosterism in the founding and development of such Ohio institutions as Heidelberg College, Ohio Wesleyan University, Wooster College, and Case Western Reserve University. Also discussed in relation to the founding of Ohio colleges are the influence of the quest for female education, philanthropy, for-profit institutions, canals, and railroads. (Contains 32 references.) (DB)

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The Local College Booster Movement in Nineteenth Century Ohio

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Presented at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the

Association for the Study of Higher Education

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This paper began as research assignment in the History of Higher Education graduate course in the Ph.D program at the University of Toledo. I would like to personally recognize and thank Dr. Stephen G. Katsinas of the University of Toledo, my advisor, for his encouragement, guidance, and patience in this endeavor.

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This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, November 6-9, 1997. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

Introduction

Overview

At no time in the country's history have the institutions responsible for independent higher education had a more important or difficult role than they have today. The more than 1,600 independent institutions constitute a significant public resource for the nation and its people. They provide us with a diverse pluralistic system rich with educational options. From the Roman Catholic Notre Dame to the Baptist Baylor, from the liberal Antioch to the conservative Hillsdale, they inculcate values and help define the culture of the nation and the system of higher education. A key feature of this diversity, perhaps its center, is the independent college, an irreplaceable alternative to state supported public institutions--an alternative which, since 1636--has been the foundation upon which all of American higher education has been built.

The development of American independent colleges and universities across the continental United States can be traced from the founding in 1636 of the frontier college at New Town, Massachusetts, Harvard College to the establishment in 1853 of the College of California, now the University of California. Somewhere in the middle is found the rich and diverse multiplication of colleges in Ohio. Most historians cite the period between the Dartmouth decision of 1819 and the Civil War as a time in which independent colleges saw significant expansion.

Many of these higher education histories, including Frederick Rudolph's The American College and University: A History (1962), Laurence R. Versey's The Emergence of the American University (1965), Hofstader and Smith's two-volume American Higher Education: A Documentary History (1970), and John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy's Higher Education in Transition: An America History: 1636-1956 (1968) present a complete survey and comprehensive picture of American higher education. Most of the emphasis is often on a very few institutions, which even today constitute the majority of the elite colleges and universities. Only rarely do educational historians delve into the "public history" of America higher education to examine the common-place institutions and their reasons for persisting.

National perspective of these educational histories presents the problem. For America throughout the nineteenth century was really not a country, but a loose confederation of better

established local communities. And when these and other historians of higher education discuss independent institutions they are usually discussed in the context of denominational colleges and universities, mainly relying on Donald G. Tewksbury's book: The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War, With Particular References to the Religious Influences Bearing Upon the College Movement, (1932) which credits the influence of the religious denominations for the founding and persisting of private institutions. Although a most enduring study, the doctoral dissertation of Donald G.Tewksbury that resulted in this important book has had an unfortunate improper impact on higher education history, perpetuating the power of the myth that denominational movement alone founded and developed the vast multiplication of colleges in America. While overstating the influences of the denominational movement, very few doctoral dissertations received the lasting praise as this work. It is continually cited in discussions of American higher education, especially histories of the denominational movement. George Schmidt, author of The Liberal Arts College (1957) called Tewksbury's book a "careful and informed study" (p. 266). It is lauded in the classic work by Frederick Rudolph, The American College & University: A History (1962) that it "stands as a most useful historical study" (p. 500).

One must realize that Donald G. Tewksbury still welds considerable influence within the historiography of higher education. Viewed as the quintessential promoter of the concept of the *denominational influences* of the college founding during the period 1820 to 1860, Tewksbury's thesis has been solidified and continued since its first publication in 1932. He defines this further:

> Thus, a multitude of rival colleges representing various competing religious interests were established during the so-called *denominational era* of our history. America proved indeed to be a virgin land for the multiplication of religious sects and development agents for the advancement of colleges designed of the interest of these religious groups. (p.24)

This *denominational thesis* is widely cited in two of the texts most commonly used in introductory graduate courses on of the history of higher education, Frederick Rudolph's The American College and University: A History (1962 & reprinted in 1997) and John S. Brubaker and Willis Rudy's Higher Education in Transition: An American History: 1636 - 1956 (1961). Ironically, Tewksbury himself, in making his case for the religious influence on the college movement, recognizes a role for local boosterism, while Rudolph completely ignores it. Tewksbury then offered a discounting

of local influences on college: "local sources of support were indeed drawn upon as far as possible, but such support was, at best, meager, and only a few colleges were able to place themselves during this period upon a sound basis of local support" (p.24). By acknowledging this objection, Tewksbury indirectly bolstered support on denominational influences and created an historical view that, until revisited by recent social historians, has gone virtually unchallenged for more than 40 years.

Most historians cite Tewksbury's chronicling of college mortality during the nineteenth century as another contribution. This needs to be viewed as what it says about local boosterism and other influences. "Financial disaster, denominational competition, unfavorable location, natural catastrophes and internal dissension" (p. 24) are listed by Tewksbury as factors for the death of colleges in this country. These indicators of failure do not, however, tell us anything about persistence and success of colleges and the possibility of local communities augmenting the denominations in developing colleges. Again, Tewksbury does not ignore local boosterism, like Rudolph and Brubcher and Rudy, he just unequivocally discounts it. Answering this objection in advance, he says "colleges in this country have generally been regarded as the special pride of local communities, but this fact did not necessarily ensure their survival" (p. 25).

Argued here is the notion that Tewksbury's thesis needs critical reexamination. Historian David Potts (1977) agrees that "reappraisal of his work reveals distortions, inaccuracies, and omission of facts" (p. 117). There is little evidence supporting Tewksbury's narrow sectarian zeal. In contrast with Tewksbury, colleges and universities, in their emerging form, should be viewed as broad based local enterprises, which are deeply rooted in the economic and cultural life of hundreds of towns, cities and regions. The popularity of the college can be linked to the community/college relationship. (Potts, 1977)

Most state histories provide little insight into the development of colleges and universities and are usually surveys of a general nature. Unfortunately, these histories again are not comprehensive and tend to highlight the more visible institutions. Individual college and university

histories range from the well-done and objective histories to the internally produced public relation vehicles.

The shortcomings of these histories and their virtual ignoring of the impact of local boosterism and community development issues in the advance of independent higher education is the focus of this research endeavor.

When reviewing the above mentioned histories of higher education as to the factors related to liberal arts and independent college establishment, founding, site selection, fervor and mission, local boosterism is all but absent as a reason for the development of independent colleges and universities. Only John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy's Higher Education in Transition: An America History: 1636-1956 (1968) dedicate more than a few sentences to the importance of local boosterism, and they do this with but a single paragraph. One must review the histories in light of what they say about the importance of local boosterism. The lack of attention to this principle concept of development in these works greatly contrasts with the attention to the individual impact of a few elite colleges and in the general literature of American history.

"The small college is scattered everywhere," (p.175) said William R. Harper in an essay The Future of the Small College, a chapter in The Making of America, Vol. 1, The People and Their Social Life (1901) edited by Robert Marion La Follette, and he did not believe this was the work of the denominational movement. He believed that the growth colleges and universities in the nineteenth century was "all but the natural and inevitable expression of the American spirit in the realm of Higher Education" (p.174). Harper went on to argue his sectarian philosophy by saying that "the small college in Ohio and South Carolina and in every state of our magnificent union, are the expression of the democratic spirit, which is the American spirit" (p. 174). He discounts the importance of religious zeal in 1901, thirty years before Tewksbury's research, outlining the failure of ideal of the denominational college

> A far number of small colleges have had their origin in the religious spirit. In many of these even to-day the spirit is not simply religion, nor indeed simple Christian - it is the sectarian spirit. Even from New England, one not infrequently hears cry from the denominational bosses that the denominational college must be supported, it halls must be filled by students from families of those belonging to the denomination ideals must be propagated or dishonor is shown the founder . . . and the denomination it represents. But,

> on the whole, the sectarian idea in religion is disappearing, except in certain sections, a broader spirit prevails and sectarianism in education is destined to die with the next century or so. (La Follette, 1901, p. 175).

Focus of inquiry

The purpose of this paper is to explore the thesis that the concept of local boosterism was a more significant factor in the duration and survival of the independent college than the religious zeal of the denomination. Employing a literature review of the major historical works in higher education and the individual histories of each remaining independent college and university, I will examine the American independent college in general and the independent colleges and universities in Ohio in particular.

The scope of this research study limited by two predetermined boundaries, that of which concerned with a certain time period, and the second which is concerned with the institutions within the State of Ohio that are to be studied. The paper will covered only the period historically known as the nineteenth century, 1800 to 1899. This study is limited to the State of Ohio. It is further restricted to the 36 existing independent, non-profit, college and universities as defined in the Higher Education Directory (HEP) (Rodenhouse, 1997) which existed in the nineteenth century and still exist today. It is important to say that all institutions of higher education in Ohio during the period described are not treated equally, or in great detail.

The study of the development of independent college and universities in the State of Ohio provides the researcher all the necessary characteristics and historical prototypes to understand the national advancement of higher education as a whole. This paper is an historical study of the development of independent colleges and universities in Ohio. Ohio, being both the Western-most major urban center and the Eastern-most state of the frontier at the mid point of the century, and having a large number of colleges and universities, provides an excellent model for this investigation. It seeks to answer the following questions:

- What role did female education, for-profit institutions, major philantrophry, and personal leadership play in the local booster college movement in Ohio?

- Most importantly, was the role of local civic pride and boosterism, city development, and the development of railroads, canals and other infrastructure more critical to the founding of colleges and universities than the denominational movement?

The Historical Context

Literature in the field of American history provides the most vivid examples of the power of local economic, social, and cultural forces. Colleges and universities formed in the nineteenth century are as much an economic endeavor as religious one. In American economic history, improvements in transportation in the nineteenth century have occupied a central place in explaining a substantial part of the economy and development (North, 1966). Gary Callender's Economic History of the United States 1795-1860 (1909) suggests an account of economic history should:

1. describe and explain the economic life as it relates to the social evolution of the country,
2. investigate the relation of economic affairs to politics,
3. show the influence of economic life to the social evolution of the country. (p. iv)

Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1636 - 1956, by John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, first published in 1956, does recognize the power of the historical forces in higher education. Their predication, that at the mid-point of the 20th century, higher education stands at on the threshold of the greatest expansion in its history, proved right. The authors sum up their thesis in the keynote of the book in the first paragraph:

> Higher education in the United States has been molded and influenced by a variety of historical forces. On one hand, there are the patterns and traditions of higher learning which have been brought over from Western Europe. On the other, we find the native American transplanted institutions. Out of the interaction of these two essential elements and, most important, out of the growth of democracy in every area of America life, has developed a truly unique system of higher education. (p.1)

But the authors never really identify or recognize the real partnership between local communities, their infrastructure and denominationalism, as they address the factors related to what spurred the founding of liberal arts and independent colleges between 1820 and the Civil War.

The Concept of Local Boosterism

Daniel Boorstin, author of The Americans: The Democratic Experience and The Americans: The Colonial Experience, is most emphatic in promoting the importance of the concept of local

boosterism in the development of colleges and universities. In The Americans The Democratic Experience, (1973) Boorstin states that America was a nation of consumption communities where cities and towns sought economic prizes such as railroads, county seats, hotels and most importantly: a college. As a nineteenth century economic development tool, the college joined these other community institutions in creating community spirit and giving these cities and new towns a competitive advantage. A new college was both a tangible and intangible monument. In The Americans: The Colonial Experience, (1958) Boorstin continues, the American colleges were emphatically institutions of the local communities. No community was complete with out a college. He reiterates this concept in Hidden Histories: Exploring Our Secret Past (1995) quite clearly "they are monuments to community. They are originated in the community, depend on the community, are developed by the community, serve the community, and rise and fall with the community." (Boorstin, 1995, p. 194) Not to boost your city showed a lack of community spirit and a lack of business sense; and colleges and their relationship to community became an important part of American life. The Dartmouth decision impacted many aspects of private higher education in the United States, but an overlooked point was that the solidifying of outside control of governing boards drew the colleges into the communities.

This communitarian *booster spirit* grew to become a nineteenth century phenomenon. The growth of cities and towns in America preceded organized governmental political subdivisions. Local boosters created a spirit that solved public needs long before the government did (Boorstin, 1995). As the physical features of towns and cities began to grow, so did the spirit of the community. Boorstin (1995) states, "this notion of community is one of the most characteristic, one of the most important, yet one of the least notice American contribution to modern life" (p. 195). All of this proved well for the private, non-governmental college in the nineteenth century Ohio. Thus, this nineteenth century phenomenon of the individual *local booster* and the concept of *local boosterism* became institutionalize in American social culture. These quintessential American concepts self actualized themselves in the late nineteenth century when the word *booster*

was invented in 1890 and the word *boosterism* became etymologically accepted in the early twentieth century (The Compact Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition, 1991).

While some historians argue that the social and cultural struggles after the Civil War expanded the role of colleges and universities, they do not discount the marriage between "the agents of enthnoreligious subcultures and local boosterism" as William Leslie noted in his book, Gentleman and Scholars: College and Community in the Age of the University - 1865-1917, (1992, p.xv). Competition of all sorts created colleges and universities. This included religious groups, but also included local enterprises, regional forces and groups dedicated to a vast assortment of issues including gender and profit. According to Leslie, colleges were subject to "urbanization and industrialization that created forces that challenged the local and denominational groups that had founded colleges" (p. 1). His is one of the only works that clearly places local boosterism and religious groups on equal footing.

Ohio's Development

One must realize that true provincialism for Ohio is a political not a geographical entity, as it eastern and western boundaries were determined by proceeding states and its northern and southern parameters by bodies of water. So the political and cultural forces which outlined the state played an important factor in its development. Along the way, improvements in transportation and communication accelerated this process. Thus from the beginning, accessibility has been the keynote of Ohio's history. Ohio's location contributed much to the development. As the Eastern-most state in the Midwest, it could serve populations in markets from its combination of natural and manmade transportation systems. During the canal era, Ohio's system of artificial waterways furnished connecting links to natural lakes and rivers connecting New York City to New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi River. The rapid development of Ohio between 1830 to 1850 owes much to this factor.

As a part of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Ohio was destined for cultivation by religious education through its mandate sayings. Education was praised, but not endowed, in the statement "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary for good government and the

happiness of mankind, schools and the means of educating shall forever be encouraged" (Northwest Territory Centennial Commission, 1937, p.34). The true history of the development of Ohio's independent colleges, moreover, is set in the frame of American society and life, political and cultural forces and reflection of these forces in a microcosm. These are sagas of localities, state and nation.

The Northwest Ordinance, coupled with the ensuing State Constitution of 1802, which said that "schools and the means of instruction shall forever be encouraged by legislative provisions" (Ohio Constitution, 1802, Article VIII) provided fertile ground for religious groups and localities. Charters for colleges and universities were required from the state legislature and obtained quite easily. This easy *chartering* was further augmented at the local level when chartering power was given by the state to the county auditors in 1852, thus increasing the local control of college founding. According to Roseboom (1944):

> Ohio was overblessed with institutions of higher learning by 1851, but the legislature invited the creation of new ones by general law in 1852 governing such incorporations. It permitted any group of five or more individuals to incorporate as a college or university by proving to the satisfaction of the county auditor that the proposed corporation had property of the value of $550.00. They might elect a board, a president, and a faculty and go into the business of granting degrees. No state supervision was required (p.188)

Both of these governmental developments made college forming and founding quite easy in Ohio. Many were incorporated, but as many failed.

These chartered colleges played more of a role in spurring the growth of high school equivalent academies. In the state's 22 colleges in 1859, there were 3,873 students, of which 2,157 were enrolled at the academy level (Roseboom, 1944). This allowed local boosters the opportunity to grow these new institutions into stronger colleges. For most the nineteenth century, the field of higher education in Ohio was left to the private province of the religious and local boosters. There was an almost complete absence of any public support of higher education, except for the nominal support of Ohio and Miami Universities and Wilberforce. Even after passage of the Morrill / Land Grant Act in 1862, the Ohio General Assembly was so deeply spilt on how to respond on taxation issues and the affect it would have on existing institutions, that the bill to

create the Ohio Agriculture and Mechanical College did not pass until 1871. This institution later came to be called The Ohio State University. But the Morrill Act and the founding of this land grant university in Columbus had little affect on the landscape of higher education in Ohio until the next century, according to Alexis Cope, who wrote the first official History of Ohio State University in 1920. (Cope, 1920)

Non-Denominational Influences

The Influence of Local Boosterism in the Founding and Development of Colleges

American colleges were emphatically institutions of the local community and America came to believe that no community was complete without its own college. Real estate developers in the early nineteenth century included plans for a college in their schemes to attract settlers to their town. (Boorstin, 1958, p.181)

In order to assure the continuos growth of a community, the nineteenth century saw the development of what is termed *boosterism*. Leaders of a community sought to differentiate and distinguish their town with the mantle of a state capital, county seat, a right a way of a major road or in the mid-nineteenth century, a railroad. These local leaders, usually land owners themselves, turned to colleges as another economic tool to promote their new towns. Thus the idea of the booster college became established and Ohio provided fertile ground for the movement.

Even through the mortality rate was high, 60% in Ohio, (Tewksbury, 1932, p. 28) "a college gave an aura of preeminence to a community, more business and increased land values, getting a college became a goal and allowed in the City of Findlay case "the ability to say their city has arrived" as Richard Kern documents in his history of the now University of Findlay in Findlay College, The First One Hundred Years, (1984, p. 22). The leaders of the city of Findlay, Ohio took an active role in local boosterism. They secured a county seat, a major road and a railroad. The later, that railroad, the Mad River and Lake Erie, was secured through the enticement of county general revenue bonds: "the voters of Hancock County solidly approved $160,000 in bonds" (Kern, 1984, p. 22) to encouraged the railroad to pass through Findlay. And they now sought to turn their expertise in advancing their small city by seeking a college.

The pattern of the Findlay experience, of both city and college, was to be repeated throughout the Middle West and Ohio. In each instance examined, the intertwining was the same. The denomination usually provided the impetus for the founding and the local boosters did what the church leaders could not. Cities and towns frequently bid against each other to provide land, buildings or cash to attract the college. After the successful use of bonds to land a railroad, the local boosters of Findlay and Hancock County again turned to bonds to finance the needed college. This public commitment, was a visible example of local boosterism. Richard Kern lauds the role of local boosterism in helping the church to found the college and promotes the concept of equal recognition of local boosterism saying: "By and large, regardless of the original church affiliation, such colleges, to a considerable extent, became community institutions with some denominational relation" (p. 22). He continues emphasize that churches saw the value in this relationship. "Most church schools took the name of the community as cap stones which the *college* would be an adornment" (p. 22).

Many towns competed for colleges to be located in their vicinity. And the churches of the day encouraged and sought this competition. Even when a location was agreed upon, as in the case of Heidelberg College, the stealing of a college was possible. The Synod of the Reformed Church (German Reformed) initially voted to award its college to Tarlton, a small town near Circleville, in Central Ohio, an area with many church members. There the proposed institution was given the name of Tarlton College. The Synod secured an offer of ten acres of land valued at $800 dollars, and subscriptions from the community of $7,200. Many within the church were dissatisfied with the site that was selected and dispatched an envoy (the Reverend H. Shaull) to the city of Tiffin, , to entice the citizens of Tiffin and its vicinity to develop a more competitive proposal.

Again the local boosters of Tiffin, sought subscriptions of $11,000 in the form of negotiable notes on the condition the Synod would move its college to Tiffin. Taking the offer, the Synod went to Tarlton and gave a settlement of $300 to allow for the change of location, where the college name was changed to Heidelberg College, as it remains today.

Although the establishment of Ohio Weslyean University in Delaware, Ohio came as a result of an educational renaissance in the Methodist Church about 1840, the college originated "in the liberality and public spirit" of the people of the town, said Ohio Weslyean University, President Thomson, in his inaugural address in 1846 (Hubbart, 1943, p. 9). When it became known that a large house, called the Mansion House, was for sale in Delaware, a local pastor of the William Street church, headed a movement to have the citizens of Delaware purchase the property and offer it to the Methodist Conference for a site for a college. The conference accepted the offer while at the same time a devoted citizen, Adam Poe, was at work urging the citizens of Delaware and the Methodist leaders to the same effect. Both the city and the church agreed to start the college in Delaware and together set out to raise more money for their new college.

The twenty-six year struggle of the Presbyterians to start The College of Wooster demonstrates that denominational aspirations needed local boosters and their financial support. Reverend James Hoyt of Columbus first proposed the college to the Cincinnati and Ohio synods, the two synods that made up the Presbyterian Church in Ohio. This was the beginning of a string of church committees and groups that simply failed to realize any tangible results. According to Lucy L. Notestein's Wooster of the Middle West (1957), committees to found the college were started in 1840, 1848, 1852, and 1856 and either quickly failed or slowly languished. These complacent attempts prompted Notestein to recall Ulysses wife's Penelope's deferment in Homer's Odyssey:

> Thereafter for a decade the ministers of the two synods on this subject remind one of Penelope's web. The weaving is full of promise as new committees go to work; at the end of the year it is all unraveled out by some resolution of inexpediency or postponement. (p.7)

Staring in 1856, local boosters from a variety of cities, began presenting to the individual synods, their respective cities for a location for the new Presbyterian college. A local public official from Bellefontaine in Logan County approached the Synod of Cincinnati to locate the new college in their town and during the same meeting two citizens of Chillicothe did the same. Ironically, The Ohio Synod, meeting in Columbus, was hearing a presentation of the citizens of West Liberty, another upstart town in Logan County. These interests of local communities

prompted competition between cities and the two synods, finally providing the impetus to move the project forward. These local aspirations added the "needed friends to the general project, and offset loyalties to other colleges" (Notestein, 1958, p.7).

In response to the outcry of local boosters throughout the state, representing many emerging communities, the two synods met and endorsed a joint resolution which set forth parameters for communities to follow in seeking the Presbyterian college. Notestein outlines these determining factors:

> 1. The new college was to start with a foundation sum of not less than $200,000, which included the land for securing a location.
> 2. The control and direction were to be vested in a board of seventeen trustees, five residents in the county of location and six chosen from each of the two competing synods. (p.8)

The partnership now defined, it unleashed even more interest from other cities and towns. The financial investment of the local community would be augmented and protected by positions on the governing board; again drawing the college into the community. The Dartmouth decision, therefore, plays an important structural role.

Although the respective synods agreed on the resolution, they still disagreed on what city would be chosen for the college. The Cincinnati Synod sided with West Liberty, and the Ohio Synod voted for Chillicothe. Their indecision only delayed the project and more cities joined in the fight for the college. They agreed to meet in Columbus to hold a joint convention in December of 1856 to finally chose a site. After "the first evening was spent in prayer for divine guidance. The next morning propositions were received from seven cities, after three ballots, West Liberty had a distinct majority and the choice was made" (Notestein, 1957, p. 8).

The synods challenged West Liberty to raise the predetermined money and to secure the land in two years, providing a September 1, 1858 deadline. After a few time extensions the town of West Liberty was unable to raise the funds. After eighteen years of wishing, of prayer and of indecision, the Presbyterians of Ohio were without a college. From 1859 to until after the Civil War, a variety of plans were proposed and failed. The City of Springfield, Ohio was briefly proposed as a compromise location. Reverend James Hoge felt that the centrality between the two

synods would solve the location dilemma and the and the leaders of Springfield quickly responded with an offer of $35,000. Even though Wittenberg University was already located in Springfield, the synods accepted their offer and even consider buying the Lutheran affiliated school; but this plan was halted by the outbreak of the Civil War.

The conclusion of the Civil War brought a new Presbyterian committee charged with the responsibility to renew all offers of $100,000 or more. Offers from Sandusky, London, and others were being considered when "a Reverend James Reed suggested the possibility of an offer being made by the City of Wooster and the citizens of Wayne County" (Notestein, 1957, p. 9). During 1865, the committee received many substantial offers and three or more cites appeared to have the ability to raise the necessary funds. Wooster emerged as a front-runner and was buoyed by the competition of London who raise $85,000. The local boosters of Wooster, who recently lost their bid for a railroad, found resolve from the local newspaper:

> It would not only be an honor to the place, but it will so enhance the value of real estate throughout the whole vicinity and county that none would be the loser by the investment ..an effort should be made to raise $100,000 in the county. (Notestein, 1957, p. 11)

Another editorial spoke to the success found in Ann Arbor, Michigan after the founding of The University of Michigan:

> The effect of the establishment of colleges and universities has been that population has increased; real estate has advanced in price; general education promoted; the morals of the community have improved, every branch of trade and manufacturing has been stimulated and general prosperity has pervaded the community. (Notestein, 1857, p. 12)

Finally, the enthusiasm of the City of Wooster and the citizens of Wayne County prevailed and provided the resources for the Presbyterians of Ohio to begin a college after almost thirty years it was first idealized. In December of 1866, the University of Wootser (a named suggested by a Toledo minister, E. B. Roffensperger to honor the work of the city) was incorporated. (Notestein, 1957)

The Congregationalist sought to found a college soon after Ohio became a state in the area known as the former Connecticut Western Reserve. Through a variety of mergers, site changes, philantrophic boosts and later a federation, Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland can

trace its roots to one of the more interesting accounts of the power of local boosterism. According to Clarence H. Cramer (1976) in Case Western Reserve: A History of the University, 1826-1976 "a number of villages in the Western Reserve wanted to be the cite of a new college" (p. 7) and ironically "Cleveland was rejected early because it was a commercial lake port; and the rollicking sailors in the streets would be detrimental to the morals of a college student" (p. 7). The Congregationalist, who desired to locate their college in a rural area, quickly choose Hudson, Ohio for the following reasons:

1. Hudson suffered little from augue or remittent fever.
2. It had excellent facilities for commencements.
3. It is on the main road east of Pittsburgh and five miles to the north/south road to Columbus, Cleveland and Chillicothe and but five miles to the Erie Canal that was to be opened between Cleveland and Akron soon and in Five years it would connect Northeastern Ohio with the Ohio River and New Orleans. (p. 7)

The Village of Hudson showed their good faith by raising $10,000 for a building with the village providing $7150.00 and the leading town booster, David Hudson, who founded the city, donated the remaining $2142.00 and a gift of land equaling 160 acres.

After securing the location, land, and necessary funds, the Congregationalist quickly sought permission from the states legislature to proceed and incorporate as a college and appointed Reverend Caleb Pitkin to represent the denomination in promoting the necessary incorporation in the state capital. Reverend Pitkin was met with instant resistance from the legislature "who opposed the religious nature of the charter" (p. 8). It took a consort with a colorful local booster, Judge Henry Brown, to change the destiny of the new college. Cramer (1976) describes the securing of a the charter vividly:

> The Reverend Caleb Pitkin mounted his horse and rode fifty miles to consult with Judge Henry Brown, who was completely nonclerical; he was a canny merchant lawyer and jurist. The two rode another hundred miles to the state capital. (p.8)

Assessing the current climate as not favorable to religious institutions, Judge Brown "advised Pitkin to return and attend to his church" (p.8) and said "that negotiations with the legislature was a job better suited for sinners, not ministers" (p. 9). He skillfully negotiated, without the minister, and agreed to eliminate the reference to a theological seminary which was blocking the securing of

the charter. Sensing the opposition and knowing the clergy desired the seminary, he promoted and secured the needed state charter through a statement of purpose which defined the mission and set the stage for community involvement for the future Case Western Reserve. The new college in Hudson would "afford instruction in the liberal arts and sciences; and that the Trustees may, as their ability may increase, erect additional departments for the study of any and all professions" (p. 9). With the resolve of one man, the charter of Western Reserve College was secured without the help of the church on February 7, 1826.

The Influence of the Quest for Female Education

Female education or single sex women's colleges were also widely sought. Following the lead of innovative eastern women's colleges, Ohio's first female seminary was founded at Willoughby, Ohio. Willoughby Female Seminary was lauded as Mount Holyoke's "first godchild of the West". Although it succumbed to fire, it was resurrected as Lake Erie Seminary in Painesville. Upon moving to Painseville in 1847, local boosters played a major role in founding the institution and inspiring its survival. A prominent Painseville judge and local booster wrote:

> You must understand the Seminary did not come to us, we had to go for it. Many towns wanted it, but the decision gave it to us. But first we had to tell them what we would do. And we offered land and $20,000. (Gross, 1993, p. 3)

This ideal, to educate women, spurred many Western towns to turn to the Mount Holyoke for help in creating similar institutions in the young frontier (Gross,1993, p. 7). Pushing a non-sectarian pledge of the inclusion of women in the world of higher education, Mary Lyons, the leader and president of Mount Holyoke Institute in Massachusetts, sought to recreate female education in the West, especially in Ohio. Known as the "Mount Holyoke Plan", Mary Lyons and her alumnae made themselves felt throughout the country, founding or heading new colleges for women. Western College, founded in Oxford in 1853, which later merged with Miami University, and Lake Erie College are examples of this movement in Ohio. To insure her success and to define her commitment, Mary Lyons sent leaders and faculty members west to Ohio to start both of these schools against the wishes of ministers of the churches that took the lead in the multiplication of

colleges for men in the early part of the nineteenth century. They opposed Mary Lyons's plan as "unpratical, unwise, and even unchristian" (Gross, 1993 p. 11).

The college to be located in Defiance, Ohio, sought to serve one of the least settled parts of Ohio The land, known as the *Black Swamp*, was opened for settlement in 1820 and by 1836 the town of Defiance was founded. In the mid-1840s the local boosters were dreaming of a college in their midst. (Roseboom & Weisenburger 1934) The Defiance College was founded as Defiance Female Seminary in 1850. It was known by a variety of names and was supported by three mergers. It did not affliate with the Christian Chruch unitl 1900.

The Influence of Philanthrophy

The booster spirit, as it developed, took hold, and flourished, led to a concern for community that fostered a new peculiarly American institution: public philanthrophy. And the institutionalization of the public philantropic spirit in the nineteenth century led to the founding and sustaining of many colleges in Ohio. Although the booster movement has been always inexorably linked to financial investments, people of wealth increasingly turned to the community and its institutions, or its emerging institutions to impact change through a large philanthropic gift. Boorstin (1995) sums up this philosophy by identifying Benjamin Franklin as the patron saint of American philanthrophy saying:

> For Franklin, doing good was not a private act between bountiful giver and grateful receiver; it was prudent social act. A wise act of it was a phlianthrophy would sooner or later benefit the giver along with other members of the community. While living in Philadelphia, Franklin developed plilantrophic enterprises which included projects for establishing a city police, for paving and better cleaning and lighting of city streets, for a circulating library, for the American Philosophical Society for Useful Knowledge, for an Academy for the Education of Youth (origin of The University of Pennsylvania), for a debating society and a fire department. (p. 204)

Philanthrophy often played a more prominent role than the church. Wilberforce was founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church as Ohio African University in 1843 in what would be known as Wilberforce, Ohio. Bowles, Decosta, and Tollet who wrote Between Two Worlds: A Profile of Negro Education in Higher Education (1971) state that Wilberforce, renamed in honor of William Wilberforce, a great eighteenth century abolitionists, in 1856 was "the first black college established in the United States" (p. 95) and the second oldest private black college to award

baccalaureate degrees and to develop completely into a degree granting institution" (p. 20-21). These two distinctions attracted the attention of many, and in turned, outside financial support. Both Frederick Mc Ginnis who wrote A History and an Interpretation of Wilberforce University (1941) and Bowles et al. (1971) found that Wilberforce was able to survive early difficult financial times only through the financial support of the most wealthy and most powerful men in America.

A direct bequest in the wills of two prominent Ohioans founded two colleges completely independent of the church. Case Institute of Applied Sciences was founded in 1880 as in compliance with a deed of trust provided for in the will of Leonard Case of Cleveland. The bequest call for "the founding of a school of applied sciences to be named for the founder and to be located in Cleveland" (Galbreath, 1925, p. 481). The curriculum, location and name were determined by the philantrophy of a local leader and businessman: the institute later merged with its neighbor, Western Reserve. Cedarville College, although religious after its founding, was not founded by a church or denomination. It was also founded as a result of a bequest. William Gibson of Cincinnati provided in his will that $25,000 be given to found a college in Cedarville, Ohio.

The Influence of For-Profit Institutions

The period between 1865 and 1900 saw a rise in for-profit, non-sectarian institutions come to fruition, particularly thorough the normal school and commercial curriculum movements of the late nineteenth century. "Early normal; schools were privately owned" (Roseboom, 1944, p. 427) and seven normal schools were established between 1850 - 1875 in Ohio. The most successful teacher training school founded in the nineteenth century to grow into a comprehensive university was the Northwestern Ohio Normal School which was founded in 1871 by educator and entrepreneur, Henry Solomon Lehr. The school was founded and developed out of his personal vision and concern for education for all through the common school. By 1870 the people of Ada, Ohio, much impressed with the business acumen and educational vision of Henry Solomon Lehr, wanted a normal school of their own But it took competition from nearby Findlay, Ohio, who also made an attractive offer to Lehr, to prompt the citizens of the small village to act. Sarah Lehr

Kennedy, (1938), granddaughter of Lehr, in H. S. Lehr and His School speaks of the action of the Ada residents upon hearing of the competition of the Findlay, only twenty miles to the north:

> When it became known in Ada that he was definitely considering an offer elsewhere, their was great consternation; the citizens gather together in the town hall and sent a committee to escort Mr. Lehr to the meeting. Admist great enthusiasm he was told emphatically that he must not think of going away. They said they were now ready to help him and asked him to put writing just what he wanted the town of Ada to do. (p. 60)

This resulted in a partnership between Mr. Lehr and the people of Ada. The city agreed to match the incorporation capital of $4,000 of Mr. Lehr with $4,000 of their own if Mr. Lehr would locate the school in Ada. (Kennedy, 1936) The town boosters also donated the necessary land for the new school, although Henry Solomon Lehr owned the majority of the stock

From 1871 to 1901, the normal school struggled financially, but was able expand its curriculum beyond teacher training. The name change along with the changing character of the school, in 1885, the school became Ohio Normal University to reflect the adding of several colleges. In 1900, Henry Solomon Lehr, falling on financial hard times, sold the university to the Methodist Episcopal Church and which changed the name to Ohio Northern University.

Tiffin Business University, now Tiffin University and Dyke College, now David Meyers College were private, for-profit institutions, of which many were opened in the later years of the nineteenth century. They were represented of the many commercial colleges that were started for the need of a more practical education that emerged in the twentieth century as non-profit institutions, completely independent institutions.

Canals Railroads, and Transportation

Canals, in the early 1800s, were considered the chief means in Ohio for improving accessibility and transportation. Securing adequate canals, coupled with roads, was important to the success of Ohio and its emerging towns, and in the future its colleges. As stated earlier, canals and roads were a significant reason for the selection of Hudson, Ohio by the Congregationalists for the location of Western Reserve College. These waterways competed with the network of rails spread in the state until there was scarcely a village more than a few miles away from a canal or railroad.

More than any other mode of transportation, the railroad epitomized the power of American technological and commercial development and a link between the rapid development of the railroads and colleges may be related. John Stover's American Railroad (1966) articulated that the addition of track flourished in Ohio. The development of railroads mirrored the development of colleges in Ohio, "the center of population, which in 1810 had been but a few miles from Washington, D.C. had moved by the eve of the Civil War to a spot west of Athens, Ohio" (p. 2) and by "1860, Ohio was first in railroad mileage in the nation" (p. 42). It is clear that the acceleration of the settlement and agriculture output of the western two-thirds of the United States was strikingly influenced by the advent of the railroad (North, 1966).

But railroads developed in a peculiar way in America. In contrast with England, where railroads developed to carry people from one established town to another, American railroads were sent out into the frontier West. "Nineteenth century America had seen the booster railroad arise to match the booster press, the booster college and the upstart town" (Boorstin, 1973 p. 120). So the American booster railroad and the American college had similar beginnings, as they were commonly built in the hope "they would be called into being the population it would serve" (Boorstin, (1973) P. 120). And in Ohio, the railroads and the colleges arrived at about the same time. Along with prematurely built grand hotels, town boosters sought railroads and colleges in an anticipatory and upside down fashion. But this developing infrastructure would create an powerful educational apparatus for Ohio higher education.

The advent of the railroad advanced economic, cultural, social and political development of The United States of America in the nineteenth century. Often overlooked, but equally as important, is the impact of the railroad on education. The railroad and the college have a lot in common. For the quick development of colleges and the rapid development of railroads in America were born out of the same legal structure: The Dartmouth Case of 1819 gave both railroads and the colleges the right to independent control of corporations and freedom of control of the state. In Passage to Union: How the Railroad Transformed American Life, 1829-1929 (1996) Sarah H. Gordon states the Dartmouth Case was as equally important to the railroad as it was to

the independent college declaring "that charters did not imply a monopoly, and not invariability act in public interest" (p. 21). Not only did railroads and colleges rise up together, assisting each other, they emerged from the same legal decision.

Many locations of colleges were decided because of the presence of a railroad. The president of Heidelberg College, The Reverend George W. Williard, D. D., remarking that Tiffin was the best choice available because of its population and railroad, said in 1879 that "we can see the wisdom evidenced in the selection of Tiffin . . . it has grown more rapidly and has railroad facilities which neither of the other places has. It has as intelligent and enterprising population of 10,000 inhabitants, and it is beautifully situated on the banks of the Sandusky River, which runs through it" (Williard, 1879, p. 202). Even after the selection of the town was made, the location of the college within the city boarders was made with transportation in mind. Reverend Schully, who was instrumental in securing Tiffin a college, jocularly remarked that as the Mad River and Lake Erie Railroad, the first to be built in the state, ran along by the side of the site on which the College now stands, and they should select it, so that if the college did not succeed "it might be more easily placed on the cars and shipped to some other place" (p. 17). The early leaders of the college sought to be an outgrowth of the community by adapting the course of study to the wants of the community, opening their doors to women, and appealing to prospective students outside the Reformed Church.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The lack of attention given to local boosterism and other influences leaves the impression that historians remain committed to the traditional myth and nomenclature of the denominational college. Almost every book on higher education promotes the one-dimensional image of the denominational college. Higher education historians do promote the public/private dichotomy and when they talk about private schools in the nineteenth century; but they always speak of the private schools as denominational colleges. Colleges need to be viewed in their social, political and cultural context and not in the rhetoric the public relations office of the day and the antiquated histories alone.

This purpose of this study was to determine the extent of the role that local boosterism played in the development of private colleges and universities in nineteenth century Ohio. Its goes beyond the simple assumption that the dynamic development of colleges and universities was solely the result of denominational influence and seeks to examine other factors such as local boosterism, female education, for-profit institutions, personal leadership, and the power of transportation issues in the development and sustaining of colleges in Ohio. The research provided in this study makes a sound arguement that these influencing factors were more important than the influence of the denominations. The denominations did processed the ideal. But, the broad base local communities processed the leaders and institutional structure to bring the ideal to fruition. Local boosters promoted the college as a economic enterprise and the railroads brought the people to the college.

The survey population for this study consisted of the 36 colleges and universities which currently operate within the State of Ohio that were established prior to 1900. Because of the breath of material not all colleges and universities were treated equally. This project should be continued, evidence not in this study needs to be examine. But it is important to say every one of the 36 were examined and the 14 that are highlighted in the study provide clear evidence that local boosters and the other influencing factors were as prominent, if not more prominent, in the founding and development as the denominational movement in Ohio.

This study clearly rebukes Donald Tewksbury's emphasis of the religious denominational in the founding and early development of colleges. His thesis does not fairly define the action that led to multiplication of institutions of higher learning in the United States in general and Ohio in particular. Any discussion of the founding or development of college and universities in the nineteenth century should include the local booster movement and the other influencing factors. And Tewksbury's repeated and often cited *denominational era* or *denominational movement* should, in the least, be historically improved to include Daniel Boorstin's concept of *local boosterism*. For Daniel Boorstin's local booster argument is a more actuate portrayal of the development and founding of universities and colleges in Ohio.

The findings of this study indicates that Ohio's colleges and universities were, for the most part, more local institutions than religious ones. The picture that emerges from this study presents a different view to the traditional influence of religion on higher education. Historians of higher education should recognize this important development and change the appellation of this moment in time to the *Denominational/Local Booster Movement.*

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